1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the 412
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops 464
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now 232
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπατζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of 342
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and 251
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-maker's hut.

Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful mating season (μαρκάλος) is important because it promises few sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like the milk that is taken before the first of February and during the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough 'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

* * *

The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel far in different directions to find their winter grass and very often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing, milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves. In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dispersed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the local group of families that graze the land of the same village, the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[254] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[209] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[64?] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

/46 cont./
[236] [527] all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats. [221] [462] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March [221] and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to re- [232] lieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a [412] brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the carding proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29) is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

[Sc. p. 50--Analyst]

/88 cont./

231 In addition, our herders keep a certain number of beasts of burden (horses and mules) which they use during their travels. Now, even though this is not herding properly speaking, the existence of these animals nevertheless raises some problems which will be examined in connection with those dealing with the herds and economic activity in general.

231 233 128 In order to describe the way in which the Sarakatsani practice herding it is appropriate that we follow closely the different phases of the life of the livestock, as well as the rhythm of their daily needs, starting with reproduction, the very morning of the life cycle.

--The impregnation of the animals

233 232 Impregnation may be considered as early or late according to whether it takes place toward the beginning of the month of July or the beginning of the month of September. The earliness or lateness of this event depends primarily on feeding conditions. When they are favorable, impregnation is early--a situation which brings about two very considerable advantages for the herders:
1. First, the newborn animals will come into the world before the winter cold which kills them or hinders their normal development.
2. The ewes are able to be impregnated a second time and give birth in the spring. That is why the Sarakatsani pay very great attention to this problem.

At the time of impregnation the ewes are brought into contact with the rams in a ratio of one ram for 30 ewes. It is the same with the Nanny-goats and billy-goats.

233 The birth of the kids and lambs is an event of cardinal importance for the Sarakatsani, since it governs their means of subsistence.

[462] /89/ However, though everyone, without distinction of age or sex, must take part in the extra work brought about by the birth of the

/80 cont./

233 462 lambs, it is not the same for the kids. Only the women assist the goats which usually give birth first (the births follow one another from mid-November to mid-December), and install them with their young in special pens to protect them from the cold.

The ewes lamb after that. While the men alone assist at parturition, the women have the task of driving ewes and lambs to the folds and the pastures intended for them.

233 232 Nursing

The nursing of kids lasts three months. They are separated from their mothers and penned day and night in the "tsarkos," in order to avoid their nursing continually thus exhausting the goats. They suck only at daybreak and at twilight.

For the same reasons, the lambs spend the night in a pen which is specially assigned to them, but they follow their mothers to the pastures in the daytime and thus are entirely free to nurse.

The nursing of the lambs lasts only a month and a half.

Feeding The livestock

In order to solve this problem the following arrangements have been adopted:

1. A suitable classification of pastures.
2. On occasion, a supplement in the form of grains bought commercially.
3. The setting up of a suitable grazing schedule.

Pasturing: pastures are classified in relation to:

--the quality of the grass,

--species of animals,

--the phases in the life of the latter.

In practice these three criteria overlap. Observation shows that the following distinctions have been made for the sheep:

--Pastures for the gravid ewes.

--Pastures for the ewes that have just lambed.

233 /90/ --Pastures for the milch-ewes;
232 --Pastures for the sterile ewes;
--Pastures for the lambs up to the age of one year.

The best pastures are reserved for the ewes that have just given birth and for the milch-ewes. The lambs up to one year and the gravid ewes browse on grass of lesser quality; finally, the rams and sterile ewes must be content with the poorest pastures.

The goats, as we know, are kept in places generally quite far from the sheep pastures and rough in appearance, with stony ground covered with holly or other shrubs of which they are fond.

However, the kids sometimes graze together with the lambs in the same pastures.

231 Finally, for the beasts of burden, sheltered places with very
232 thick grass are chosen.

231 Crops and grains: nevertheless, the pastures are not always
233 sufficient for the needs of the animals. Therefore the Sarakatsani
241 are sometimes induced to cultivate part of the land (which is very
(439) rare), or even to buy grains in order to feed their livestock.
However, these practices are only a secondary contribution and it is from the pastures, that is from the direct exploitation of nature, that the Sarakatsani obtain the bulk of the food for their flocks.

233 Schedule of pasturing: as a general rule, the flocks graze only during the less hot hours of the day and during the night. However, if we go into detail we find that:

During the winter, the shepherds take the animals out and let them graze first between midnight and three o'clock. After that the livestock is again shut up in the sheepfolds. The ewes that have young do not graze during the night, so as not to expose the latter to bad weather. Of course, when the lambs are big enough they follow their mothers to the pastures even during the night. The flocks go

/90 cont./

233 out a second time early in the morning after the milking of the milch ewes, and they graze until ten o'clock. The final pasturing of the day takes place from three o'clock until twilight.

During the summer the flocks remain out-of-doors all night and rest during the day in the "tsardhaki" or in shady places/91/ sheltered from the sun and heat. Thus they graze only during the night.

233 "Taking salt": this is the term the Sarakatsani use to describe
232 the practice which consists of feeding the livestock salt in order to replace that which the animals excrete in the summer. The salt is spread on flat stones and the flocks are led to them. The animals lick the salt and then hasten to the nearest stream in order to drink. The Sarakatsani maintain that this practice both increases the well-being of the animals and their milk production. Actually, the explanation is found in the fact that "the spray of very chlorinated sea water that the rains drop on the plants of the plains does not reach the uplands--The health of the stock and its resistance to diseases are therefore at stake..." (20)

(113) 20. P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 28-29.

Special care and veterinary medicine

From the hygienic point of view the care bestowed on the flocks is limited to:

--the search for good fodder;

--the indispensable precautions against bad weather: for example, the ground of the sheepfolds is covered with branches during the winter, so that the livestock do not lie on the wet and sometimes icy ground;

--finally, the ensuring of the well-being of the animals through certain magical practices. (21)

21. See below, pp. 298-324.

232 As for summoning scientific veterinary services there is no

/91 cont./

232 question of that, at least within the framework of traditional life. [ESH] Apart from precautions against the "evil eye" and witchcraft, these nomads do not hesitate themselves to undertake altogether empirical treatment and sometimes true surgery.

The most common sicknesses, according to the Sarakatsani nomenclature are:

Parmard. The sheep suffer from pains in their feet and can no longer walk; in addition, the ewes that are stricken with it cease producing milk. The treatment consists in preparing /92/ an infusion of elaterion (wild cucumber, family of American cucurbitaceae) which is administered to the sick animals.

Dragomara. The joints of the feet swell and suppurate. The treatment is the same as the preceding.

Fouskomma (tympanites). Here they resort to blood-letting by cutting a vein near the left eye. They also cut an ear or the tail of the sick animal.

Surgical operations consist of:

--setting dislocated or fractured limbs which are treated with ligatures;

--trephining /perforating/ the skull of the sheep. This procedure is applied when a small cyst forms in the head of the sheep, which makes them very excited (the Sarakatsani say that they become "insane"), using a technique the substance of which is as follows:

The shepherd most experienced in this type of intervention immobilizes the sick animal by tying its feet. Then he feels its head in order to determine the spot where he must enter. He thereupon shaves the wool and removes it by using an iron heated in the fire. After which, with a very sharp knife he cuts the top of the skull at an angle and detaches the bone he has cut. He thereby obtains an opening

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

233 The safety of the livestock

The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations
233
484 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
361 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
[462] entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/95 cont./

233 [432] sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also 353 serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62). [513] Piled one on top of another all around the hut and covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepares their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

[Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/319 cont./

789 82 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 182 951 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices objectively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks (233) (232) contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end salutary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 182 152 154 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.